UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Lausanne Conference

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Leaving Hankow Behind

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Death and Victory

By ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part IV. Chapter I

By M. K. GANDHI

Limitations of Public Education—The Jewish View

By LOUIS L. MANN

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME C MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1927 NUMBER 3

Nietzsche on "Defense"

No government will nowadays admit that it maintains an army in order to satisfy occasionally its passion for conquest. The army is said to serve only defensive purposes. This morality, which justifies self-defense, is called in as the government's advocate. This means, however, reserving morality for ourselves and immorality for our neighbor, because he must be thought eager for attack and conquest if our state is forced to consider means of self-defense.

At the same time, by our explanation of our need of an army (because he denies the lust of attack just as our state does, and ostensibly also maintains his army for defensive reasons), we proclaim him a hypocrite and cunning criminal who would fain seize by surprise, without any fighting, a harmless and unwary victim.

In this attitude, all states face one another today. They presuppose evil intentions on their neighbor's part and good intentions on their own. This hypothesis, however, is an inhuman notion, as bad as and worse than war. Nay! at bottom it is a challenge and motive to war, foisting, as it does, upon the neighboring state the charge of immorality, and thus provoking hostile intentions and acts. The doctrine of the army as a means of self-defense, must be abjured as completely as the lust of conquest.

Perhaps, perhaps, a memorable day will come when a nation, renowned in wars and victories, distinguished by the highest development of military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifice to these objects, will voluntarily exclaim, "We will break our swords," and will destroy its whole military system, lock, stock, and barrel. Making ourselves defenseless (after having been the most strongly defended) from a loftiness of sentiment, —that is the means toward genuine peace, which must always rest upon a pacific disposition.

The so-called armed peace that prevails at present in all countries is a sign of a bellicose disposition, a disposition that trusts neither itself nor its neighbor; and partly from hate, partly from fear, refuses to lay down its weapons.

Better to perish than to hate and fear, and twice as far better to perish than to make oneself hated and feared —this must some day become the supreme maxim of every political community.

Our liberal representatives of the people, as is well known, have not the time for reflection on the nature of humanity, or else they would know that they are working in vain when they work for "a gradual diminution" of the military burdens. On the contrary, when the distress of these burdens is greatest, the sort of God who alone can help here will be nearest. The tree of military glory can only be destroyed at one swoop, with one stroke of lightning. But, as you know, lightning comes from the clouds—and from above.

The Wanderer and the Shadow, 284, *from Vol. II of Human, All-too-Human.*

The Outlawry of War, as a slogan, has carried around the world. The Outlawry of War, as a program meaning certain precise things and no other, has by no means carried so far. The result is the constant use of the phrase to cover programs of peace which are utterly removed from anything ever suggested by the advocates of Outlawry—a woeful fact, since it tends to identify Outlawry in the public mind with ideas which are always impracticable and frequently absurd. The latest instance of misconception of this kind appeared at the opening sessions of the League of Nations at Geneva, and thus enjoyed a world-platform to attract and mislead attention. What we have in mind, of course, is the proposal which Poland submitted to the League Assembly providing for the abolition of aggressive war. In all the papers which we read, this proposal was blazoned abroad as a proposal to "outlaw war," and if we remember rightly this very phrase was used in the text of the Polish document. But the abolition, or suppression, or "outlawry" of *aggressive* war has nothing to do with the Levinson-Borah program for the Outlawry of War! Turn to Dr. Morrison's chapter on "The Myth of 'Aggressive War,'" in his indispensable book just published on "The Outlawry of War" (page 215)! Pointing out that the outlawry of aggressive war was proposed in the Geneva Protocol of 1924, in American party platforms of that year, and has appeared in various church resolutions as well as in speeches by President Coolidge, Dr. Morrison asks what such proposals mean in terms of peace; and he answers definitely, "Nothing." "It means nothing," he says, "for two reasons. One is that in modern civilization there is no such thing as aggressive war. The other is that it could not be outlawed even if there were." The thing that genuine Outlawry is after is not aggressive war, or any other particular kind of war, but *war itself*—the institution, the system, the established legalized method of settling disputes between nations in the last resort. "As long as the war system remains undisturbed," says Dr. Morrison, "any promise which a nation may make not to engage in any particular 'kind' of war—aggressive, or non-permissi-

ble, or unrighteous, or any other 'kind'—is worth just as much as the paper it is written on." And no more! "Mars never did a better day's work for himself than on that day on which he got earnest peace people to busy themselves with the illusion of 'outlawing aggressive war.'"

Another and less excusable misunderstanding of the Outlawry of War has been perpetrated by no less a person than Nicholas Murray Butler, who did so fine a piece of public service in reviving Mr. Briand's proposal to this country to outlaw war as between France and the United States, which Washington was apparently so willing to let die. In a speech in London, at the Pilgrims' dinner to American editors, the gist of which has been repeated by the Columbia President since his return to these shores, Mr. Butler said:

> There are those admirable and amiable persons who would outlaw war—admirable and amiable but quite hopeless. Suppose we all passed a resolution resolving that there should be no more war. You might as well, in the language of the Book of Common Prayer, pass a resolution to outlaw pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy.

It is difficult to reconcile this ridiculous statement with President Butler's ardent championship of M. Briand's proposal of this very Outlawry which he so hilariously derides. Such a statement, revealing in naked guise an utter ignorance of the Outlawry of the War idea, shows how impossible it is for a man who talks as much as President Butler to know what he is talking about. It also shows how criminal it is for a well-known man to talk in ignorance of his subject, and thus "darken counsel by words without knowledge." Such an exhibition makes one wonder why we have such things as colleges, and how many so-called educated men are really educated. For the Outlawry of War does not propose that war be abolished by passing a resolution against it. The advocates of this program —John Dewey, of President Butler's own university, among the number—know perfectly well that such a resolution would be just as futile as the Pope's famous bull against the comet. "Admirable and amiable" these advocates may be, but they are also not fools and numskulls. If President Butler's utterance is any criterion, they are a hundred times more intelligent and a million times better informed than the President of Columbia. What the Outlawry of War proposes is not a resolution, or anything like a resolution, but a . . .! But there! We are sending President Butler a copy of Dr. Morrison's book, and we are asking him to take off his dunce-cap, and sit down and read its pages. If he will do this carefully, and can understand plain words, he will be saved from making a fool of himself the next time he opens his lips on the Outlawry of War.

M. Briand's proposal to the United States, above referred to, of a treaty outlawing war between this country and France has a great significance not only from the standpoint of Outlawry but also from the standpoint of France. It is one more indication of the new France which has come into being in the last few years. It seems at first glance ridiculous to talk about the new France with M. Poincarè still at the helm. But this very fact, on more careful investigation of the scene, only serves the more vividly to point the contrast between France today and France yesterday. For the Poincarè who now directs the destinies of the Republic is a very different man from the Poincarè who was directing those destinies in the days of the Reparations Commission and the Ruhr invasion. Within a few months after the close of the Great War, France was the military dictator of the continent. Her armies were as terrible a menace to peace as ever were the armies of the Kaiser. So was her policy! She tyrannized over Germany like a shameless bully. She broke with England, and took delight in threatening the island kingdom with her preponderance of air power. She made alliances with Poland and the Little Entente, and by her gifts and loans financed the outrageous armaments of these upstart nations. She insulted Soviet Russia, and sought her swift and sure destruction. She ran amuck with conquering armies in Syria and Morocco. Like a drunken swashbuckler, she clashed her sword, and dared anybody and everybody to a fight. Now, as Paul Scott Mowrey has recently pointed out in a remarkable despatch in the Chicago *Daily News,* all this has changed. France has reduced and is still reducing her armies. She has signed the Locarno agreement with Germany, and more recently has joined in a commercial treaty with the Reich which seals an economic alliance more significant in these days than any political alliance. She has resumed friendliest relations with England. She has stilled the military ambitions of Poland and the Balkans, and recognized in generous spirit the Bolshevik government of Russia. She has followed in China a policy of utmost moderation, has asked the United States to join her in the Outlawry of War, and has recently been coöperative at Geneva. We have no idea that France, for over two hundred years the most militaristic of nations, has suddenly and miraculously become pacifistic. We have no doubt that the usual selfish motives are behind this change of policy. But the result is what it is, whatever the forces at work, and in France we momentarily see a bright spot in European darkness.

At the same time that France has thus risen in the scale, England has sadly fallen. All that has been gained on the one side of the channel, has apparently been lost, and more than lost, on the other. In her domestic affairs, England has became reactionary be-

yond anything that the Kingdom has known since the days of Balfour and the Unionists. The coal strike, the general strike, the trades union bill, the proposed bill for the reform of the House of Lords, Churchill. Joynson-Hicks, Lord Birkenhead—these are some of the domestic liabilities constituting a bankruptcy of enlightened and progressive leadership which bodes serious things for the future. Premier Baldwin, now discovered to be as weak as he was always known to be amiable, has given the die-hards their heads, and these latter are madly plunging the ministry to that final crash which may spell violence and revolution. What is going on inside Britain is fairly matched by what is going on outside. Look at the break with Soviet Russia, the policy of blind and brutal imperialism in China, the cynical tyranny dominant in India, the entente with Mussolini, the failure of the recent conference for disarmament, the resignation of Lord Robert Cecil from the Cabinet, and now the obstinacy of Chamberlain at Geneva. Stupid reaction at home only a running mate for stupid intransigence abroad! The twin policies make a combination which brings mingled sickness and terror to the heart. To get rid of Baldwin and his Tories, even Lloyd-George would be a blessing. As for MacDonald and the Laborites, their steadfast presence is the only hope in sight. And even this hope is dimmed by the growing dissension between Lefts and Rights, a dissension which is only aggravated by the proceedings at Westminster. Every day that Baldwin rules, serves to increase by a process of geometrical progression the number of "Reds" in England eager for revolt. This is perhaps the most sinister fact in the entire situation. The whole destiny of Britain and the world may well be hanging upon the possibility of getting Baldwin and his loathsome crew out of office before the "wild men" capture the British Labor Party.

The ordinarily meticulous New York *Times* quotes one of the speakers at the recent British Science Association meeting to the effect that "elections and atoms cease to have any reality" under the spell of the new mysticism ushered in by the quantum mathematics. Probably this eminent mathematician is more concerned with electrons than with elections, and doubtless to them he was actually referring on the occasion named. But he gets a more hearty and intelligent response from the rank and file of American citizens by the misquotation than he possibly could from what he sought to say. This practical and discriminating sentiment must get a stormy applause from a long-suffering American public. The pre-election fever has attacked the politicians somewhat earlier than usual. The presidential campaign would seem normally to be a good year away still. But the politicians are already as busy as the proverbial setting hen. Probably the nests are full of doorknobs at this date, but that does not restrain the zeal of the politicians to hatch them. Yet even these antics are not without interest to the layman. There are at least faint signs that a new flavor will be given the buncombe of the approaching campaign. To be sure, Governor Smith, essentially the hackneyed type of political campaigner, is very much to the fore, but other types are not entirely obscured. When it was suggested that even the sodden old parties might be forced to nominate Herbert Hoover and Owen Young, the response of a politics-wearied business man was, "You must be an optimist, indeed." This is doubtless too exalted optimism to be justified by present tendencies, but no remotely feasible combination of candidates could go farther to check the widening of the chasm now opening between the liberals and the reactionaries in economic statesmanship. May be either of these leaders would attempt no bolder essay than to make the present economic system work, but they would at least attempt that. Though they must blunder along, they would blunder conscientiously and with a degree of human insight.

Last week we referred to the disastrous floods in Gujarat, the portion of India where Gandhi lives. Since that writing, we have received further reports from our Indian correspondent, who is on the scene, and all indicate a worse state of affairs than had at first been imagined. In addition to the 500,000 people homeless, at least 1,000 are dead. Crops have everywhere been destroyed, and hundreds of villages completely washed away. In Ahmedabad, Gandhi's home, over 5,000 houses have fallen, and conditions of the utmost destitution and misery prevail. It is interesting and important to notice, especially at this time when the English government is broadcasting fresh reports of dissension between Hindus and Moslems, that these two groups "vied with one another," says our correspondent, "to save lives and render help. There was mutual coöperation." Here is impressive testimony to the Mahatma's faith that Hindu and Moslem dissension is not unrelated to English rule, and that it would be absorbed and transfigured by national independence. Faced by this great flood crisis, Hindus and Moslems forget their differences in service for one another. Would they not similarly forget these differences if they were forced by the greater crisis of taking over and managing their own affairs? That England foments disturbance, we cannot say; that England's presence gives occasion for disturbance, we dare to assert. Meanwhile—to return to the flood disaster—we renew here our offer to receive and transmit to India any relief offered for the sufferers. "Gujarat," says Gandhi, "has hitherto filled the beggar's bowl; now Gujarat is obliged to take the bowl herself."

The Lausanne Conference

We suppose that we ought to say something in these columns about the recent Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, that great gathering of representatives of Christian churches in the interests of religious unity. But for the life of us we can't think of anything to say excepting that, of all the farces staged in our time, this conference takes the cake.

In order to get the true perspective on the affair, it must be remembered that this Lausanne meeting had been in preparation for years. Never was an event of the kind more carefully planned in every outward practical and every inward spiritual detail. Yet when Bishop Manning—imagine this crabbed ecclesiastic a delegate to a conference in church *unity!*—when this good Bishop returned to these shores from Switzerland, the best that he could say about Lausanne was to repeat what the Bishop of Ripon had said—that it was wonderful just to think of all these representatives of so many various faiths being able to get together at all. Wonderful, indeed! Nineteen hundred years after the crucifixion of the Nazarene—and those who call him Lord and Master can actually come to a single town and meet in a single room without fighting like cats and dogs!! This, beloved friends, is the high-water mark of Christian achievement.

Aside from this marvellous feat of grace, just exactly nothing at all was done at Lausanne. There were speeches and sermons and prayers and discussions without end, but no real deeds. There were all kinds of agreement on abstract, unsubstantial principles that mean nothing, and not the faintest shadow of agreement on any concretely practical application of these principles that alone means something. The whole affair was simply one gigantic farce—a disgrace to Christendom, as it must have been a humiliation to the men who took the sacred name in vain. Nor are the reasons far to seek.

All the talk to begin with, was about doctrines, rituals, sacraments, ordinations, and what not—matters upon which there can not, as there need not, be any agreement in the interests of unity. Apart from certain words, creditable to the men who spoke them, there was no faintest recognition of Jesus's own principle of religion, which can alone secure concord among men—*"Ye are my disciples if ye have love one for another."* Secondly, there was no acceptance of the fact that the special interests of the separate churches must be sacrificed to the one great whole, if unity is ever to be won. Peter Ainslie, true prophet of God, spoke the right word when he said that, for the sake of reunion, he would be willing to have his denomination go to Gethsemane, as Jesus did, and die if need be for the cause. But there was no response to this noble appeal save loud applause, which sounds fine and means nothing.

We shall take seriously the proceedings of a world conference on church unity when the delegates agree (1) that the basis of unity is "love to God and love to man," and that on this basis all differences of opinion on matters of doctrine, worship and ecclesiastical order may be freely tolerated, and (2) that no separate church of any kind is of any importance, since the one church of Christ is of supreme importance. The world may sit up and take notice when any organized group of Christians anywhere is willing to make one little sacrifice of its own especial beliefs, habits, and vested interests for the cause of human brotherhood. Within three days after the opening of the Lausanne Conference, the newspapers, which had given elaborate accounts of the inaugural proceedings and were all prepared to continue such accounts, turned away, and reported practically nothing. They knew almost at once that Lausanne was not worth wasting any cable charges on. This was a sound judgment. Not gestures, not even words, but action in the spirit of sacrificial love, can alone win the attention and respect of men.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Jottings

UNITY is again under the ban in India. Our correspondent has not received a copy since last April. In celebration of this notable attention from the British government, we confine this department this week to Indian affairs.

Gandhi has recovered from his recent illness, appearing in public for the first time since his breakdown at a Khadi exhibition at Bangalore on July 4th last. Since this date he has been steadily gaining strength and continuing his usual activities.

A novel type of passive resistance movement has been tried in India. As a mark of protest against the imprisonment of Bombay patriots, men and women have carried guns, pistols, and even bombs in the streets. This looks dangerous, until we learn that this is done in deliberate violation of the Arms Act that restricts the use of arms. It would seem as though our Indian brethren had here done the impossible—namely, discovered a use for armed weapons by non-resistants!

The leader of the passive resistance movement referred to in the above note, General Avari, is in prison

under a four years' sentence for violating the Arms Act. Avari started a hunger strike, not for release, says our correspondent, "but because he wants his sword by his side." This use of the sword by a non-resistant gives a new and wonderful meaning to the phrase, "the sword of the spirit."

An Indian leader, M. K. Acharya, declares that what India needs today is not a change of program but a change of heart, and accordingly has proposed that all congressmen in the legislatures "spend half an hour daily in thought and self-discipline, and meditate upon God-love." This idea awakens piquant suggestions. Imagine our American congressmen spending half an hour, or even half a minute, daily "in thought," and in meditation upon "God-love"! It can't be done —imagination falters and dies before such a prospect.

At a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, during the early summer, it was voted to send an ambulance corps to China for service in the Cantonese armies. The committee proclaimed this action as "a mark of full sympathy with the Chinese Nationalist movement." The Congress Committee also voted in a strong resolution of protest against the sending of Indian troops to China by the English government for its own purposes as against the Chinese. J. H. H.

Letters from China

Leaving Hankow Behind

Tomorrow morning I leave on a wonderful trip across half the backyard of China, going northwest with the Russians returning to Moscow. Borodin, the well known adviser of the Nationalist Government of Canton and later Hankow, goes back to Moscow with a caravan of twenty people, mostly Russians but some Chinese who are going along for educational purposes. We have a doctor, two cooks, an official camera and all the appurtenances of a historic trip. Except for the doctor's wife I am the only woman; I am also, I think the only person neither Russian nor Chinese.

We go by rail for a day or two to Loyang, headquarters of Marshal Feng. Thence we take auto to Sian Fu, historic capital of Shensi, which last winter endured a horrible siege in which many died of starvation. Then on to Ningsia in the Mohammedan province of Kansu and thence to Urga, the capital of Mongolia, and so to the Trans-Siberian. It is a six weeks camping trip, with autos and tents, a very rare trip indeed, since it can only be made when some official party has enough autos and body-guards to make the journey.

Long before you read this the press will be full of various interpretations of Borodin's return to Moscow. There is probably truth in many of them. His going, many say, will facilitate reunion of the various wings of Nationalism. It will take the edge off, say others, of the British aversion to the Hankow government.

But, just between ourselves, I have the feeling, from the looks I see on different people's faces, that it is Borodin who chooses to go, rather than Hankow which chooses to send him. He is very tired, and somewhat ill with four years in the Chinese tropics; and he also feels, like Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, that he cannot lend himself to creating a facade of revolution to a military reaction which is killing peasants and labor leaders. Not that he himself has said this. Certainly as a most discreet adviser and foreigner, he would never voice such open criticism of the government he serves.

Nor would I myself wish, as a foreigner loving China, to say a word against those many sincere revolutionists and civilians who are still fighting on, more or less, in the government of Hankow, under the shadow of the militarists they have acquired but not assimilated. These troops defy the Foreign Office here just as they defied Peking. They institute coups d'etat and begin the suppression of workers and peasants and force the Hankow government to "like it or lump it." They even force that government to pass resolutions white-washing their actions, to speak of restoring order, and to hide from their own souls the fact that the "order" thus restored is the right of soldiers to loot, substituted for the previous right of peasants to commandeer rice from landlords. It is needful for Hankow to do this, in order to survive as a government. But at this point the price of survival becomes so high that many revolutionists prefer not to.

Today in Hankow, even as in Hunan, one cannot in any way find a responsible communist to interview, and hardly a labor leader. The union halls are occupied by soldiers.

Whose fault was it? I think no one's. It is one of the inevitable stages of Chinese development. If the Nationalists came fast north and absorbed so many undigested armies, they were bound to encounter it at some stage in their career. If they had not come north so fast, they would never have awakened the masses. And it is the awakened masses who, in the end, will finish with the militarism in China. So it is all an episode in the steady but slow development.

When I was down in Hunan, a missionary described to me the growth of the Peoples' Power, as they called the dominance of organized peasants and workers.

> It grew for a time without knowing its own strength. Then it did some deed and found that there was no power to oppose it. After a time the Yamens themselves had no power except they countersigned the resolutions of the Peoples' Power.

Something similar is happening now with the militarists. Overwhelmed at first by the speed of the northern advance they came over to it en masse. For a time they were quiet, even under orders they disliked, for they were in awe of this new civil power based on an idea. Then they began to defy it, first Chiang Kai Shek in Shanghai, then Ho Chien in Hunan, and found it easier than they expected, since after all, the civil power had only the soldiers as

weapons. Now step by step, the militarists within the southern ranks sweep on to new exactions and demands.

There is only one power I have seen in all China that has the nerve to face the soldiers. The merchants, —they tremblingly bring out their money-bags to buy themselves a brief lease of life. The officials,—they also in fear try to soften the soldiers a little, while white-washing them much. But the peasants of Hunan, and I daresay of other provinces also, have had courage to go against soldiers, even without arms or leaders. In all China, both north and south, the peasantry is beginning to organize and arm itself, sometimes only with lances and farming implements. In these peasants is eventual hope. They have energy and realism and courage.

It was the Kuomintang that organized them, and gave them the slogans they are ready to die for. Today the Kuomintang disowns them, forced to do it by the military. "We may have to rehammer the whole Kuomintang" said Eugene Chen to me.

And Borodin said to me, not recently, but six weeks ago when I first came to Hankow, "This Northern expedition, this Hankow government, is only the first of many episodes. The Russian Revolution was a very big thing, but the Chinese Revolution is infinitely bigger. It will kill more than one Borodin before it is achieved."

Such is the patience of those who are struggling and suffering in the Chinese Revolution, while we of the west grow impatient for quick returns.

I have gone too far into the philosophy underlying the present situation in China, forgetting that to most people in America it will hardly be understandable. Just two brief pictures before I pack for my trip north.

I have been down on the Bund today in the heat. For more than three weeks now it has been over 90 degrees Fahrenheit; ranging from 94 to 100 all the time. The nights seem hotter than the days for the wind fails at night. But then again the sun is very hot.

In the sun at noon on the Bund a great wagon of freight was passing, piled eight feet deep and long and wide; the kind that in America would take a heavy truck or in the old days, four to six horses. Here in China such wagons are drawn by man-power, twenty men harnessed with ropes to the front of the wagon, bending, toiling, sweating in the heat; ten more pushing from behind while their backs arched with effort. This is on the British Bund in China, with all modern machinery round about it. Modern machinery is not so cheap as the cheap life of China.

Another picture, related by one of the secretaries in the Foreign Office. At the Jardine Matheson dock, where British cruisers are drawn up, a Chinese coolie spat on the dock as Chinese coolies have a habit. A British sailor, on guard at the gangway, made angry signs to him to get down and wipe up the spittle with his clothes. The Chinese coolie shrugged his shoulders and rubbed out the spittle with the sole of his shoe. Whereupon the British sailor pulled a revolver and shot the coolie, the bullet passing through the hip and felling the man to earth.

The Secretary went down from the Foreign Office to investigate. The coolie still lay on the dock groaning. At this juncture a man from the British consulate also arrived to investigate. Without looking at the coolie, he said to the captain of the cruiser. "Anything happen here?"

"Nothing important" replied the captain calmly.

Those words "nothing important" burn in the young Secretary's mind. A graduate of Yenching University in Peking, a fine mission school, he was offered by an American friend a scholarship at Yale. He is a brilliant youth and he refused that scholarship. He doesn't want to get what he calls the "Anglo-Saxon mentality." He wants to visit Japan, and then study in Russia.

This young Secretary is symptomatic of many other young folks in China.

Yours, most hopefully for the future,

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

July 26, 1927.

The Story of My Experiments With Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

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PART IV—CHAPTER I

Loves Labor Lost

Mr. Chamberlain had come to get a gift of 35 million pounds from South Africa, and to win the hearts of Englishmen and Boers. So he gave a cold shoulder to the Indian deputation.

You know, (he said) that the Imperial Government has little control over self-governing Colonies. Your grievances seem to be genuine. I shall try my best, but you must try as best as you can to placate the Europeans, if you will live in their midst.

The reply cast a chill over the members of the deputation. I was also disappointed and saw that it was an eye-opener for us all and that we should start with our work *de novo*. I explained the situation to my colleagues,

In fact there was nothing wrong about Mr. Chamberlain's reply. It was well that he did not mince matters. He had brought home to us in a rather gentle way the rule of might being right, or the law of the sword.

But sword we had none. We scarcely had the nerve and the muscle even to receive sword-cuts.

Mr. Chamberlain had given only a short time to the sub-continent. If Shrinagar to Cape Comorin is 1,900 miles, Durban to Capetown is not less than 1,100 miles, and Mr. Chamberlain had to cover the long distance at hurricane speed. From Natal he hastened to the Transvaal. I had to prepare the case for the Indians there too and submit it to him. But how was I to go to Pretoria? Our people there were not in a position to procure the necessary legal facilities for my going there in time. The War had reduced the Transvaal into a howling wilderness. There were neither

provisions, nor clothing available. Empty or closed shops were there waiting to be replenished and opened, and that was a matter of time. And even refugees could not be allowed to return there until the shops were ready with provisions. Every Transvaaller had therefore to obtain a permit. The European had no difficulty in getting it, but the Indian found it very hard.

During the war many officers and soldiers had come to South Africa from India and Ceylon, and it was considered to be the duty of the British authorities to provide for such of them as decided to settle there. They had in any event to appoint new officers, and these experienced men came quite handy. The quick ingenuity of some of these created a new department. It showed their resourcefulness. There was a special department for the Negroes. Why then should there not be one for the Asiatics. The argument seemed to be quite plausible. When I reached there, the new department had already been opened and it was gradually spreading its tentacles. The officers who issued permits to the returning refugees might issue them to all, but how could they do so in respect to the Asiatics without the intervention of the new department? And if the permits were to be issued on the recommendation of the new department, some of the responsibility and burden of the permit officers could thus be lessened. This was how they had argued. The fact however was that the new department wanted some apology for work and the men wanted money. If there was no work the department would be found unnecessary and be discontinued. So they found this work for themselves.

The Indians had to apply to this department, a reply would be vouchsafed many days after. And as there were many intending to return to the Transvaal, there grew up an army of intermediaries or touts, and they with the officers looted the poor Indians to the tune of thousands. I was told that no permit could be had without influence, and in some cases one had to pay up to a hundred pounds in spite of the influence that one could bring to bear. Thus there seemed to be no way open to me. I went to my old friend, the Police Superintendent of Durban, and said to him: "Please introduce me to the Permit Officer and help me to obtain a permit. You know, that I have been a resident of the Transvaal." Immediately he put on his hat, went out with me and got me a permit. There was hardly an hour for my train to start. I had kept my luggage ready. I thanked Superintendent Alexander and started for Pretoria.

I now had a fair idea of the difficulties ahead. On reaching Pretoria I drafted the memorial. In Durban I do not recollect the Indians having been asked to submit in advance the names of their representatives. But there was the new department here, and so the Indians were asked to do so. The Pretoria Indians had already come to know that the officers wanted to exclude me.

But another chapter is necessary for this painful though amusing incident. M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.)

Staying with Gandhiji

I had not been in India two days when I climbed into a station cart and started on the dusty five-mile drive which leads from Ahmedabad to the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. Here, I had heard, Mr. Gandhi was living in retreat with some two hundred followers.

I arrived on his fifty-seventh birthday and it was being celebrated in characteristic fashion. The courtyard was crowded with friends come to do him honor, but no time was wasted in talk or ceremony. Every one was squatting on the ground plying his spinning wheel. Thousands of yards of yarn were spun that day. . . .

More and more people kept arriving as the day wore on, all clad in the coarse, white, home-spun, hand-woven khaddar which is the mark of the follower of Gandhi. To see the arrival of Shaukat Ali among so many Hindus reminded one inevitably of "Arabian Nights." He is a great, tall, jolly-looking man with a turban, gristling moustache, flashing eye and gleaming teeth and is known as "Big Brother." I found both the Ali Brothers the most lovable, unselfish, humorous and gentle of men.

After a communal meal of raisins, grapes and nuts we went down at 7 o'clock to the praying ground, and there after singing, chanting, praying and the reading of the Bhagavad Gita we were told that on the following evening Mr. Gandhi would give his criticism of the day's proceedings. Bed follows soon after evening prayers, because at 3:50 a. m. one gets up to be ready for the forty minutes' starlit devotions that start at 4:10 a. m.

It is a strictly disciplined place this settlement by the river-side. The founder depends wholly upon God and prayer is the method he relies on. He commends to all the friends who have gathered round him five laws:

The Vow of Purity—Purity of word, deed and thought.

The Vow of Non-Violence, Ahimsa—The overcoming evil with good, which is Satyagraha or Soul force. The vow of Non-Violence is interpreted as precluding anger and bitterness, i. e., Non-Violence of thought.

The Vow of Purity of the Palate—Not to eat food because its taste pleases, but merely to keep one healthy and strong.

The Vow of Non-Theft—To Gandhi's followers this involves more than to refrain from stealing the goods of others. It is counted theft if one keeps for oneself luxuries or goods in excess of what one needs, when one's fellows are going short of necessities. They live the simplest possible life, the men dressing like coolies in a coarse dhoti (loincloth) as their only garment. "We must approach the poor with the mind of the poor," says Mr. Gandhi.

Plenty of people are ready to be philanthropists; one has often seen people enter public life as champions of the oppressed, but eventually become estranged and grow forgetful, or else perhaps they lose the common touch and their movement collapses. Gandhi tries to safeguard his movement from this; he sends out scores of young men trained in spinning, weaving and dyeing,

equipped by self-discipline to form Village Centers. They take some mud hut or barn in the heart of the country, where two or three of them live together, tramping out along the sun-bitten Indian road to visit different villages each day of the week, taking raw cotton to the peasants, collecting from them the yarn they have spun during the week, testing it and praying over the few annas that make all the difference between starvation and health to countless poor homes; for India is a country of villages and the agriculturist is still the normal type of worker and his poverty is acute; the money lenders have him in their power.

He is in debt most of the year until the harvest; then three weeks afterwards he has to begin to borrow again. The revival of hand spinning has given him a subsidiary industry to which he can turn when the weather precludes field work, at which his wife and children also soon become proficient.

I have kept till the last the vow of Truth because it seems to me to give the driving force to the whole of Mr. Gandhi's movement. One has to tell the truth courteously without exaggeration or fear. Moreover, one must tell it in places where it is neither asked for nor desired, where its announcement possibly will get one into trouble. Before Mr. Gandhi's day various patriotic enthusiasts worked secretly; their activities had developed underground; in everything they became furtive. It is easy to realize the sudden sense of release and the immensely increased health, joy and power that came to numberless young men when Mr. Gandhi set before them this new method.

St. Martin's Review. *Muriel Lester.*

Death and Victory*

[The Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti on August 23, 1927]

They laid their bodies in a little undertaker's establishment in the north end of Boston where the Italians live in great number, and for three days and late into the night an endless file passed between the coffins and the wall, the space so narrow that time was allowed for scarce more than a glance. There were mounds of flowers upon the coffins and in the corners of the little room, and masses of them outside in an entrance room, red flowers, and streamers with letters in blazing gold. On Vanzetti's noble face death had already set its seal. But Sacco looked young and beautiful. There was a sense of peace upon his face, of unity of purpose, of oneness with his own inner life, that was supreme. "Let me die for the proletariat," had been his recurrent cry. Now was his sacrifice complete. No trace of his long suffering was upon him. He lay a victor whose bitter struggle was as completely swallowed up as if it had never been.

To his little daughter, Inez, born after he was shut behind prison bars, he wrote a letter haunting in its sorrowful cadences. "The nightmare of the working classes," he had said, "has saddened very badly your father's soul."

The Funeral Parade

Outside, in the city, the State which these men had challenged marshalled its forces, on foot, on motorcycle and on horseback, in immense array, as if prepared to quell an insurgent host. FEAR became an all-pervading presence. One got a glimpse of the immense cost of guarding our so-called civilization against these forces of rebellion! The Defense Committee plead hard with the authorities to be allowed to march past the State House in their funeral parade. This was finally yielded, at the price of foregoing every banner and slogan; not even a band should play a dirge as they carried out their dead. But this permit was revoked, and at the last moment guards blocked the State House route. The long line which followed the dead out to the Crematory at Forest Hills eight miles away walked silently in a drizzle that became a pelting rain. At various points some of the marchers were diverted by the police, so that scarce a handful were assembled for the closing ceremonies.

Their Execution

Both Sacco and Vanzetti believed in revolution, which they thought of as very near at hand—near enough perhaps even to open their prison doors. Thus they conceded reluctantly to the legal battles which their friends put up, and which they feared, and feared rightly, served only to lengthen out their torments. Toward the last they sent out a cry to the revolutionists of the world to rescue them. And when, suddenly, all failed and they faced the electric chair, they must have tasted Jesus's agony—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Nevertheless, at the very end they both of them met death quietly and majestically.

Sacco was very pale when they entered the death chamber. He had undergone a thirty-day fast, and he was silent as he sat in the chair. Then, as they started to adjust the straps upon his leg, he cried in a loud voice—"Long live Anarchy," his final confession of faith. A moment later he said in broken English—"Farewell, my wife and children, and all my friends." As the strap was being fastened across his face, he raised his eyes and said to the standers-by, "Good evening, gentlemen." And then "Farewell, Mother." He was pronounced dead at 12:19 on the early morning of August the 23d, 1927.

Vanzetti died seven minutes later. As he entered the death chamber he reached out and shook hands with his two guards. "I wish to tell you," he said, "that I am innocent, and never committed any crime. I thank you for everything that you have done for me. I am innocent of all crime, not only of this one, but of all. I am an innocent man." Then, as the guards were about to place the strap across his face, he added—"I wish to forgive some people for what they are doing to me."

Sacco and His Children

Just three days before he went to his death, weak from his hunger strike, Sacco wrote a most poignant letter to his son, Dante, named for Italy's greatest son—grown from a little lad to "my big giant," as he then called him when a few days earlier he had been brought to the prison to take farewell. The letter is

*The author of this article, Elizabeth Glendower Evans, was one of the first persons to understand the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and to strive to free the two men. From beginning to end, through seven long years, she stood by, with generous gifts of money, with tender friendship, and at bitter cost of reputation. UNITY reverences Mrs. Evans, and is proud to publish this article from her pen.—Editor.

written at intervals and is too long to quote in full; let these few sentences suffice:

Charlestown State Prison, Aug. 18, 1927.

My Dear Son and Companion:

Since the day I saw you last I had always the idea to write you this letter, but the length of my hunger strike and thought I might not be able to explain myself, made me put it off all this time.

The other day I ended my hunger strike, and just as soon as I did that I thought of you to write to you. But I find that I did not have enough strength and I cannot finish it at one time. However, I want to get it down in any way before they take us again to the death house, because it is my conviction that just as soon as the court refuses a new trial to us they will take us there. And between Friday and Monday, if nothing happens, they will electrocute us right after midnight on Aug. 23. Therefore, here am I, right with you with love and with open heart as ever I was yesterday.

I never thought that our inseparable life could be separated, but thought of seven dolorous years makes it seem it did come. But then it has not changed really the unrest and the heartbeat of affection that has remained as it was.

More I say that our ineffable affection reciprocal is today more than any other time, of course. That is not only a great deal but it is grand, because you can see the real brotherly love, not only in the joy but also and more in the struggle of suffering. Remember this, Dante. We have demonstrated this, and, modesty apart. We are proud of it.

Much we have suffered during this long Calvary. . . . If I stopped my hunger strike the other day, it was because there was no more sign of life in me. . . .

Well, my dear boy, after your mother had talked to me so much and I had dreamed of you day and night, how joyful it was to see you at last, to have talked with you like we used in the days—on those days. Much I told you on that visit and more I wanted to say, but I saw that you will remain the same affectionate boy, faithful to your mother, who loves you so much, and I did not want to hurt your sensibilities any longer, because I am sure that you will continue to be the same boy and remember what I have told you. . . .

So, son, instead of crying be strong, so as to be able to comfort your mother, and when you want to distract your mother from the discouraging soulness, I will tell you what I used to do. To take her along walking in the quiet country, gathering wild flowers here and there, resting under the shade of trees, between the harmony of the vivid stream and the gentle tranquility of the Mother Nature, and I am sure that she will enjoy this very much, as you surely would be happy for it.

But remember always, Dante, in the play of happiness, don't you use all for yourself only, but down yourself just one step at your side and help the weak ones that cry for help; help the prosecuted and the victim, because they are your better friends; they are the comrades that fight and fall as your father and Barto [Vanzetti] fought and fell yesterday for the conquest of the joy of freedom for all the poor workers. In this struggle of life you will find more love and you will be loved. . . .

Therefore, whatever should happen tomorrow, nobody knows, but if they should kill us, you must not forget to look at your friends and comrades with the smiling gaze of gratitude as you look at your beloved ones, because they love you as they love every one of the fallen, persecuted comrades. I tell you, your father, that is all the life to you, your father that loves you and saw them, and knows their noble faith (that is mine), their supreme sacrifice that they are still doing for our freedom, for I have fought with them, and they are the ones that still hold the last of our hope that they can still save us from electrocution.

It is the struggle and fight between the rich and the poor for safety and freedom, son, which you understand in the future of your years to come, of this unrest and struggle of life's battle. . . .

Yes, Dante, they can crucify our bodies today as they are doing, but they cannot destroy our ideas that will remain for the youth of the future to come. . . .

Dante, I say once more to love and be nearest to your mother and the loved ones in these sad days, and I am sure that with your brave and kind goodness they will feel less discomfort. And you will also not forget to love me a little, for I do—Oh, son, thinking so much and so often of you.

Best fraternal greeting to all the beloved ones, love-kiss to little Inez and mother. Most hearty affectionate embrace,

YOUR FATHER AND COMPANION.

P. S.—Bartolo sends you the most affectionate greetings. I hope that your mother will help you to understand this letter, because I could have written much better and more simple if I was feeling good. But I am so weak.

What Is Left?

For the liberal class who championed Sacco and Vanzetti as innocent of the sordid crime for which nominally they died, what is left? We may have no belief in, perhaps no understanding of, the highly idealistic code which at a stroke would banish "the exploitation of man by man" from the earth, and replace it by brotherhood and justice as world rulers. For there is in sight the class war quickened a hundredfold by their ashes, blown to every quarter as live seed to kindle revolution into flame. Perhaps it will be their fate to be trampled under foot by two opposing armies which they sought in their day to interpret the one to the other. If that be so, so be it! "When my bark sinks, 'tis to a deeper sea." Meanwhile, let us bear witness to what we have seen. Let us affirm that these two champions of resolution were of exceeding gentleness, of self-abnegation and of loyalty. They had beauty of character and of mind. Vanzetti was a deep student. Sacco, with his poetic nature, was like a living flame. "The kindest and tenderest men I have ever known"—so spoke one of their counsel who sought access to them just before they went to the electric chair.

Doubtless, many of those who own the earth or who aspire to own it felt a new security when they learned that on August 23 two rebels against the present social order had died in the electric chair. The institutions of Law and Order, forged it is said to defend Freedom, had functioned smoothly when put to a most monstrous use. But for Massachusetts?—"Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, if thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace! But now are they hid from thine eyes."

ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS.

The Crucifixion in Massachusetts

Darkness was over all that night
When they destroyed the earthly life
Of two whose souls for seven years
They burned in agonies of hell!
There is a blot upon the state . . .
And through the narrow Boston streets
Guarded by soldiers armed with guns
The ghost of Christ walks every night
With bleeding heart, dragging his cross
Back from bleak Calvary
Towards Charlestown and Back-Bay.
Unclean!—Unclean these hands
Of judges are! how will they dare
Break bread, drink wine
Or lift their heads in prayer?
They plucked out two men's eyes
Ablazed with visions strange to them.
Only a widow's groan was heard
That night they murdered them.
Now from the east, the west, the south, the north
This groan increases like a whirlwind's rush;
All just men hearing understand—
While judges gamble and cast dice
Over the dead men's bones,
Then buy and sell for gold again
The outlawed JESUS CHRIST.

RUDOLPH GILBERT.

Limitations of Public Education—The Jewish View*

The twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Religious Education Association will go down into history, first and foremost, because it had the courage and the vision to face what is possibly the most perplexing, as well as the most difficult problem confronting education in general and religious education in particular. The Religious Education Association, with its ideal, that there should be "more religion in education and more education in religion," and meeting in our country, which more than any other is dedicated to, as well as predicated upon, the absolute and complete separation of church and state, will, because of this year's program, simplify, if not clarify, a problem which has the defects of its virtues.

I. The American Tradition

The American tradition developed as a reflex to the unholy alliance of church and state in European countries. The Pilgrim Fathers remembered how, because of religious persecution, Spain lost some of her most learned and scientific minds, how France exiled her most skilled and useful citizens, and how England banished many of her most conscientious people. The union of church and state had wrought a threefold harm; first, to the church; secondly, to the state, and thirdly, to people as individuals. With the union of church and state, men of conviction were branded as enemies of the government and of God; nobility of character was no security against bigotry and persecution; neither guiltlessness of youth nor respect for age served as restraints against "man's inhumanity to man," and all the more tragic, because it was in the name of a common Father, whose command was "to do justice and love mercy and walk humbly with thy God," and to "love thy neighbor as thyself." The background of religious bigotry, augmented by the force of the state, seemed all the deeper black, because of the right hopes of religion, which were miscarried, perverted, betrayed.

America, the new world, has repaid the old in many ways, yet in none more effectively than in pointing the way to the absolute separation of church and state. The Mayflower pact of "a free soul, in a free church, in a free land" has never been surpassed. Piety was not to be confused with patriotism. Various "isms" and "oxies" were never to interfere with government, nor was government to control religious faith. Religious passions were to exalt and not to degrade humanity. America's genius lay in retaining all the advantages, without the disadvantages, securing all the rights, without sacrificing the privileges, encouraging initiative, without loss of self-restraint. The American ideal was not a state controlled church, as in the Byzantine Empire, nor a church controlled state, as in the middle ages, not even a system of toleration, as in Germany in 1648 and in England in 1689, but a free church in a free state, so that one might never speak of *"the* church *of* America," but merely "the various churches *in* America."

Union of church and state has wrought greater suffering upon no one than it has upon the Jew, largely because he represented a minority and was never more than one percent of the world's population. In addition to the cardinal doctrine of Judaism, "the law of the country is your law," he welcomes the complete separation of the church and state with a passion born of a long and sad experience. He firmly believes that "liberty for all is the best guarantee for liberty for each," and see the Magna Charta of religious liberty in the United States in the Constitution VI, 3, "No religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and in the first amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." "In matters political, the majority must rule, but in matters of conscience, the majority has no such power," is an expression of the genius of America.

The story of the development or religious freedom in America is most dramatic in its setting. The Master Artist chose the *dramatis personæ* with a variety of colorfulness that make them all the more striking and convincing. There was Roger Williams, the Baptist, who suffered in order to teach that "civil powers had no authority over conscience." Lord Baltimore, the Catholic, was equally broad and convincing; William Penn, the Quaker, insisted that "we must yield the liberties we demand." Thomas Jefferson, the free thinker, overthrew the established church in Virginia and then made the union of church and state impossible in the national Constitution. There was Asser Levy, the Jew, who refused to accept the military exemption granted him because of his religion, and insisted that serving his country was both a privilege and a responsibility which no true citizen could shirk or neglect. The position of the Jew has always been one of complete loyalty to the ideals that gave America birth.

II. A Condition, Not a Theory

The Jewish position until comparatively recently was one of protest to any infringement of the separation of church and state in America, and of eternal vigilance against any encroachment of state over church or church over state. This attitude was largely negative, as was that of our country, which came into being as a protest to abuses and conflicts of church and state in other countries.

A moral attitude can never be solely negative. Avoiding a sin of commission may still leave the guilt of omission. Dean Athearn, in "Character Building in a Democracy," has shown that 58,000,000 people in the United States, nominally Protestant, are not identified with any church—Catholic, Protestant or Jewish; that more than 27,000,000 American children and youth, nominally Protestant, are not enrolled in any religious school and receive no formal or systematic instruction in religion. A study in Cincinnati recently revealed that only 3,000 children out of 40,000 in the public schools attended religious school. A recent study in Chicago revealed the fact that only 12,000 out of 55,000 Jewish children of school age were receiving systematic religious instruction through religious schools. While some have private instruction, the picture is anything but encouraging. About seven out of ten children and youth in the United States are not being touched by the religious program of any church. Many of the schools are woefully lacking both in equipment and in the calibre of the teachers.

The picture is dark and dismal. When one adds

*Paper read in a symposium before the International Religious Education Convention in Chicago, April 27, 1927.

to these facts the observations of judges in the Juvenile Courts that the majority of juvenile delinquents have had no direct contact with the church and the religious school, we can understand the increase of crime, lawlessness and delinquency in the United States. The large majority of criminals, as statistics show, begin their unfortunate and anti-social career in youth.

We are facing a problem of irreligion and atheism and an inevitable weakening of moral fibre among multitudes such as religious schools, under favorable conditions, teach only 35 or 40 hours a year. Catholics and orthodox Jews, however, are an exception to this statement. Is this sufficient time to inculcate principles of morality and the ideal of the spiritual life? If religion is, as I believe, *caught* rather than *taught,* is even this minority—to carry out the figure—sufficiently "exposed" to religion? The inadequacy of the time, the lack of trained teachers, the curse of the volunteer system of teaching, present a strong challenge to those of us who take religion seriously. A delightfully charming young girl of sixteen, with no special preparation, who volunteers to teach religious school, might with equal justice, or rather lack of justice, volunteer to perform an operation for appendicitis. The superintendent, who accepts such volunteers, helps to prove Sabatier's statement: "We are incurably religious; if not, our religious school teachers would have destroyed it for us." Religious school teachers must become professionalized—and by that I do not mean commercialized. It must require and demand both preparation and concentration; neither without the other. If ministers were mere volunteers and did not devote their lives to their work, they would be as inefficient as the vast majority of religious school teachers are. So long as we demand little, we get less. If we demand much, we shall get more. Let religious school teaching be dignified and its standards elevated, so that it will spell challenge to the best young men and women in our country, rather than come in the nature of a condescending acquiescence on the part of the poorly equipped. So long as we accept volunteer teachers, with little or no preparation, and give them a scanty program, with slip-shod methods, we are undermining the greatest service that we might render, and saying to the world eloquently and persuasively, though in silence, that our service is worth little. Only when we demand time, equipment, money, and trained teachers, can we capture the imagination of the public and make them feel that our service is worth while.

A number of plans have been put into operation to give church schools more time for religious instruction. Among them, the Colorado and the Dakota plans are not well adapted for elementary schools, but seem to serve well for the high school age. As almost all educators now agree that character is largely formed before the high school age and the moral life in some of its aspects almost completed before adolescence, these plans fall short for the most crucial period. The Gary plan, allowing school time and giving school credit for other studies might, with some modifications, be helpful for religious weekday instruction. The Gary system "would make religious instruction an integral part of the education of the child, would give it dignity, because of its connection with the educational scheme, which it now lacks, would co-ordinate it more with the national life, and at the same time would bring no pressure to bear upon any child in the direction of sectarian instruction."

III. The Jewish Position

This rather long introduction will make it possible to state the Jewish position rather simply and briefly. As a positive religionist, the Jew claims that the ultimate sanction of morality is religion, and that religious training is essential to good citizenship. As religious school training cannot be given in the public school without sectarianism and without danger to the fundamental principles of the separation of church and state, he must find a way to steer safely between the Scylla of irreligion and the Charybdis of a state controlled church, or a church controlled state.

Four methods of meeting the irreligion, the materialism and the moral laxity through religious instruction have been presented; first daily Bible reading in the schools with or without comment; second, Bible study outside of school hours but with school credit, as has been done in Colorado and Virginia; third, compilation of such parts of the Bible as may be agreeable to all denominations and discriminatory to none; fourth, the shortening of the school hours for the purpose of religious instruction outside of school buildings, under the guidance of the denominations themselves.

The first of these, Bible readings with or without comment in the public schools, is not and cannot be satisfactory, because: (a) Mere Bible reading is often futile and may be harmful; (b) the stereotyped and perfunctory reading may lead to contempt; (c) the Bible unexplained with its oriental background and its unfamiliar mode of expression may serve as a stumbling block; (d) if explained, sectarianism and incompetency will be most natural; (e) it serves as an entering wedge for terminating the separation of church and state.

As American educators and religionists, we feel that an education cannot be complete without religion as an indispensable element. At the same time, we must safeguard the American tradition above everything else.

Last year, the Joint Commission on Religious Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis committed itself strongly in favor of the fourth of the suggested plans, namely, shortening the school hours for the purpose of religious instruction outside of the school buildings, under the guidance of the denominations themselves. As this statement is authoritative, I want to quote it word for word:

> We have been instructed to consider the question of cooperation with other religious and educational bodies. We recommend an indispensable basis for such cooperation, the content of our religious resolution which is essentially the substitute resolution of the Conference. In other words, we are opposed to any form of religious instruction as part of the public school system or during the public school hours. It is our conviction that the latter recommendation of various religious bodies, no matter in what form suggested, is hostile to the principles of democracy by virtue of which each group is entitled to the right of religious liberty, and the integrity of its religious interpretations.
>
> I. We advocate that the public schools reduce their time schedule by closing the entire public school system one hour or more at the end of the school day. The time thus put at the disposal of the children may be used by the parents for such instruction for their children as they may see fit.
>
> II. Further, it is the sense of this Committee that the plan for week day instruction, which had been previously recommended by the Elementary Committee, be adopted without re-

gard to the results of negotiations with other religious bodies, or with other educational institutions. We feel that the Jewish tradition of week day religious instruction should be continued no matter what the results of such negotiations may be. If the public schools should close earlier on certain days, our problem would be made easier; if the public schools refuse to do so, we must continue to work for week day instruction in any case.

The Commission also adopted a plan for introducing week-day instruction into the religious schools of this country, and, following the adoption of the report by the Conference, the Chairman of the Commission was authorized to appoint a Committee to confer with the education department of the Protestant and Catholic churches for the purpose of securing united action on this matter. (C. C. A. R. Year Book, volume 36, pages 83 and 84.)

Both Protestants and Jews at present have neither the equipment nor a sufficient number of trained teachers to satisfy this method of meeting the challenge of materialism and irreligion. But "necessity is the mother of invention." If this convention and similar bodies insist strongly enough that the one hour of instruction on Sunday is insufficient, that the very term *Sunday school* ought to go out of existence, and that the name *religious school* should take its place, that both Sundays and one or two hours of weekdays be utilized for the building up of the spiritual life and strengthening the moral fibre of childhood and youth, we might hasten in our country the realization of the song of our lips and the meditation of our hearts:

America, America,
God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea.

LOUIS L. MANN.

Correspondence

Penn State Again

Editor of UNITY:

The letter of H. in the Aug. 22 UNITY impels me to answer by this epistle, to set the minds of the knowing ones right.

The letter in question was headed Penn State, the College of Babbittry, and began by remarking that Penn State deserved the prize for perfectly representing the Babbitt of Sinclair Lewis. Being a graduate of Penn State, and having spoken in the chapel there on many occasions, and knowing its tradition and spirit, I feel I should speak as follows:

1. Would the writer eliminate from our colleges all playful customs of hazing and clever little parades and fun that add so much to the joys of college life? Would he like to make Penn State a dull, tired-eyed Columbia where everybody is dumped into a grinding machine of intellectual bunk and dropped out at the end with a pair of thick spectacles and an empty pocket-book?

2. Why all this clap-trap against throwing peanuts in the movies? Thank God! that I myself had the chance all through college to throw a few peanuts, and they weren't thrown at ladies either, but at sissies and smart-alecks.

3. What is so wrong about a "joyous mass meeting"? Look at Harvard, where they have a murderer for president, and where they go to no "joyous mass meetings" but pitch pennies and drink ale.

4. What is so wrong about the "glorious mob spirit"? This is infinitely more democratic than the aristocracy of a place like Yale or Pennsylvania!

I know little and care less about the book called "Babbitt" by Sinclair Lewis. But I saw the movie of it, and as I remember the idea was that the Babbitts were the fat, greasy rich men who prostitute their souls to the complex civilization of America and think therefore that they alone are perfect.

The place then to look for Babbitts is not Penn State. There may be a few there, but the many will be found at the rich man's colleges. There the decaying power of great wealth has done its worst. There the dollar sign is a club that paddles everyone into the real goose-step line. There the silk-shirt salesmen and the bootleggers do their big business! There is the real home of Babbittry!

Penn State may have its faults, but I know of no college in America where there is a purer spirit of democracy, where the poor man's son and daughter have a fairer show (there is no tuition charged) and where such a fine spirit of open-mindedness, true intelligence and real brotherhood prevails! If that be Babbittry then may Babbittry sweep this country and the world!

VINCENT G. BURNS.

Pittsfield, Mass.

Capital Punishment and War

Editor of UNITY:

The killing of Sacco and Vanzetti is focusing attention upon capital punishment, which, like war, should be immediately repudiated by all decent people.

The Women's Peace Union believes that the State has no right to take human life. We protest against the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent or guilty. We would deplore the execution of Madeiros, were he ten times a murderer.

Whether it is done by the State for the so-called public good, or by the individual for private and evil ends, killing breeds violence and hate and more killing. It creates a scorn for the law. A society so wobbly, so unimaginative and destructive that it seeks to protect itself by killing is a feeble affair. And a State which avenges itself on its enemies should not be surprised if its citizens take vengeance on their enemies.

Any State which conscripts young men to destroy its enemies by the millions affronts reason and justice when it kills men because they, like the State, have held cheap the lives of their enemies.

Any State which in time of peace trains thousands of young men for wholesale killing, in the Citizens' Military Training Camps and Reserve Officers' Training Corps, many of whom are afterwards commissioned in the Reserves, cannot afford to be squeamish if killing is indulged in by those whose aims are not the aims of the State.

Nor can any State which supports a body of skilled killers in the National Guard, and has never protested against the National Defense Act, under which the whole country is being prepared physically and mentally and industrially to produce overnight 2,000,000 killers, object consistently when its citizens kill for their own purposes rather than for the purposes of the State.

And yet we have this case of Sacco and Vanzetti, in the course of which the President of a college which requires a boy to be versed in wholesale killing before he can graduate, and the President of another college whose students may be trained to kill as a part of the curriculum, did their part in sending to the chair two men accused of but two murders. Can absurdity go farther?

The individual who kills is a criminal. So is the State, even though it legalizes its own crime. As members of the State, we are all responsible for these crimes. We all want respect for the law. Let the law make itself worthy of respect. It is not worthy so long as it provides for the destruction of human life.

The Women's Peace Union is made up of women who believe that violence and bloodshed are always wrong in principle and disastrous in practice; who are working for a repudiation by law not only of war, but also of all forms of violence, including capital punishment.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE,
WOMEN'S PEACE UNION.

39 Pearl St., New York, Sept. 5, 1927.

The Sacco and Vanzetti Murder!

Editor of UNITY:

What we thought would be impossible has happened, to the shame of a handful of Americans of the State of Massachusetts and not of the whole American nation or of the entire New England State! The world's revolt against America is absurd and unjustified. A few stubborn, medieval men are to blame. They despised and rejected the pleas for justice or mercy from all over the world. The universal protests of radicals and conservatives,

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

"NO PART IN ANY FUTURE WARS!"

Out of the ill wind which blew from Geneva good may come in an unexpected manner. Eight students of the Meadville Theological School, located in Chicago, have signed their names to the following pledge:

"We, the undersigned theological students, being finally convinced by the failure of the Geneva Conference that the effort to abolish the crime of war between nations by means of parleys between naval and military experts, representing the various governments, is utterly futile, hereby declare ourselves to be opposed to all wars of whatever nature, and hereby pledge ourselves, solemnly and sincerely, to take no part whatsoever in any future wars no matter what their real or ostensible purpose or motive may be."

Their decision was reached after long consideration of the whole problem of how a lasting world peace might best be realized. Their pledge was made in no spirit of cynicism or of bravado, but with a real conviction that, for them, this was the only way which offered the possibility of yielding tangible results.

These young men are idealists, but they are striving to use means which are practicable and workable. They have watched the successive conferences between the nations on the question of disarmament and world peace with an eager hope for a favorable outcome. But the diplomatic maneuvering and the evidences of the old jealousy, vindictiveness, avarice, which have been manifested at every one of these international gatherings, have caused this youthful confidence ultimately to evaporate. These students have reached the conclusion that the whole effort to establish world peace by means of official gatherings of national representatives is a mistaken approach; it is starting at the wrong end of the problem. Diplomats, naval and military experts are, by the very nature of their training, profession, and attitude, prohibited from thinking in terms of peace. They cannot discuss the abolition of war because they are firmly convinced of the inevitability of war. These men cannot be blamed for such regrettable attitudes, war is their particular job, and the preparation for it fills their entire mental horizon. Consequently, the diplomats and experts are the very last men to be entrusted with the task of bringing about a warless world. The place to begin is with the people themselves, the ordinary individuals who form the bulk of the population of all the nations, and especially with the young men who are the possible victims of the next great war. If the young men of the different countries of the world can be made to see the utter madness of war, its barbarity and inhumanity, then they will have reason to question its perpetuation. If these young men can be taught to see the causes and motives of war, and to perceive the real issues at stake, then they may resolve that, so far as they are concerned, war has entirely ceased, and that no emotional appeals, no empty slogans, no rolling drums, no vaunting pageantry, will serve to blind them to the fact that war is savage butchery and the destroyer of all that is best in human life.

Nor can there be any half-way measures, no convenient compromise, the peace-lover must be consistent to the end. The action of these young students will be criticized as being too sweeping; it will be said that there are certain wars which are justifiable, and that in a defensive war all should rally to their country's need. But to this objection these students would reply that there never has been a civilized nation which has embarked upon a war whose leaders did not affirm that they were defending some very laudable thing or ideal. Justifications, righteous causes, noble purposes can be produced at any time, to support any war, and such always have been found. The last war surely proved that no nation, in its own opinion, ever fights an aggressive war.

When the imperialists, the military experts, the official diplomats begin to be a little less assured that they can count upon an immediate and ready response to their jingoistic and emotional appeals, then they will hesitate to commit their countries to moves or policies which must inevitably result in war.

The pledge movement is making real progress in several countries of the world, particularly in Great Britain, where the untiring efforts of Mr. Arthur Ponsonby are keeping the movement to the fore of public attention. In the United States the progress is slower, but there are signs of its gaining the allegiance of more and more young men.

One thing is certain with regard to these eight future ministers, and that is that they will never perpetrate that outrage against the name of religion which consists of the exhorting, from the very church pulpit, of young men to embark upon the project of killing their fellows under the blessing of so-called religion.

William Elsdon
Raymond B. Bragg
W. Frank Swift
Richard W. Seebode
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the representatives of the press and science and politics, were of no avail. Blind Justice—which so often has murdered innocent men—had to execute an obscure fish peddler and a poor cobbler on circumstantial evidence, and in spite of the many witnesses who proved the innocence of the accused!

These two Italian idealists—call them anarchists, if you will—had to be killed, as witches were killed in the same State less than a century and a half ago. The voice of the world was not heeded, and justice had to be done, coldly and cruelly! It is shocking and preposterous, and although the conservative press is trying hard to forget, we can't get over it!

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth! This is Christianity. A whole set of teeth for one tooth! Turn the other cheek? Pardon and love even the enemies? Despise riches? Vain words preached from pulpits! These "slogans" are good for the poor and weak, but not for the powerful of the earth! If Jesus ever came to Massachusetts (no, He would not even be allowed to pass the Immigration authorities on Ellis Island), he would be crucified again by the Fullers, the Thayers and the Lowells, for he too was an anarchist who despised the rich and the exploiter!

The time will come, perhaps a hundred or two hundred years from now, when the world will look down upon our era as we look down upon the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, and humanity will be really ashamed of its history written in blood and in tears!

JOSE M. ESTRUGO.

New York City.

WE PAY THE PRICE

Editor of UNITY:

Your letter at hand regarding the renewal of UNITY subscriptions.

After reading your Sacco and Vanzetti number of August 22nd, I have decided to cancel them all, and also my own.

HELEN T. DINWIDDIE.

[*This letter costs us four subscriptions. Thus far, the Sacco-Vanzetti editorials have brought us no new subscriptions, so this loss is total. Enemies move quicker and more drastically than friends. Why should this be so? How many among our present supporters will help to make good this loss?* —*J. H. H.*]

H. G. WELLS ON THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISTS

To any one who can think about bolshevism and retain a normal temperature, the facts are as plain as daylight. Russia has been, is, and must remain for some time to come a largely barbaric country. Large areas of Russia are still as backward as England was in Tudor times, and few of its towns have a social life much in advance of early nineteenth century conditions in Great Britain. It was in the days of the Czar and it is today a backward land of hardships and intense discomforts, a land of rough methods, frequent crimes and much sporadic cruelty.

Until ten years ago it was ruled clumsily and dangerously by a stupid, disorderly and tyrannous autocracy—superstitious and hostile to education—which collapsed through sheer inherent rottenness under the stresses of the great war. The resources of Russia were so wasted and its army so ruthlessly handled in that war as to wreck the whole social system.

These Bolshevists are in possession of the wreck. They are in possession because they were the only people with sufficient faith, discipline and determination to hold together in the general chaos. But they are neither gods nor devils. They are limited, conceited and as liable to witch panics and suspicion mania as the most enlightened citizens of Middlesex or Massachusetts. Their "reprisals" for the Arcos raid and for the various recent murders of their members would have disgraced a lynching State in the American Union.

They cling to the old theories and dogmas of Marx, half a century stale. They seem as little capable of modern industrial organization as the British coal owners, and their need is far more urgent. They have a percentage of cads, roughs and scoundrels hanging on to them which may or may not be higher than the similar percentage of any political party in Britain or America. They are, as a whole, just a band of worried, rather incompetent doctrinaires, some able and sympathetic, some obtuse and dangerous, and they have a vast empire on their hands.

There they are, the only possible Government for Russia, and if they are submerged nothing will be left of Russia but a wilderness of warring brigand armies and barbaric peasants. Failing them, Russia will repeat on a larger more dreadful scale and without the same sub-structure of civilized urbane tradition, the Germany of the Thirty Years' War.

New York Times.

"BORING FROM WITHIN"

Army officers and Reserve officers often seem to be ubiquitous whether as members of the Chambers of Commerce or as commanders of American Legion Posts or as authors of editorials. The National Defense Act of 1920, supplemented by the multitudinous military associations that have sprung up since, has created a vast network of propaganda agencies and placed military censors and spokesmen in all the important towns and cities of the country.

The *Army and Navy Register* of November 10, 1923, carried ten suggestions which have constituted in fact the policy that has been pursued wherever officers are stationed. If you doubt it, watch for a little while the officers in your locality. You will find them carrying out these suggestions even to playing golf.

1. Become personally acquainted with every reserve officer assigned to the regiment,—know them, their business relations and their personal interests.

2. Promote your acquaintance with the leading professional and business men of the community—make as many personal friends as possible. One of the means open for this is through the Chamber of Commerce and the leading business clubs.

3. Become a member of business clubs which have weekly luncheons—Rotary and Kiwanis. After a while you may be able to have a regular military committee included in their organization.

4. Enter into the social life of the community and become an active member of the country club. A reasonable amount of time spent on the golf links is not wasted. Many opportunities will here be found to talk national defense to influential men at a time when they will listen.

5. Take an active part in the community Boy Scout movement. If there are no Boy Scouts, do what you can to get the movement under way.

6. Be an active member of the American Legion Post. Unusual opportunities for service will come from this source.

7. Get behind the local civilian rifle club. If there is no rifle club, a letter addressed to the headquarters in the Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., will bring full information on the subject.

8. Cultivate the press. Furnish news items of a personal and local nature built around the name and address of members of the regiment. This is always news and will generally get by. Occasionally you will have an opportunity to prepare an editorial and here is where you can explain the principles of national defense.

9. Talk whenever you have an opportunity. Short talks before citizen assemblies, schools, clubs, etc., afford occasions for acquainting the people with what the Army is doing.

10. Conduct assemblies and schools for the officers at stated periods.

NEWS BULLETIN,
(*National Council for Prevention of War.*)

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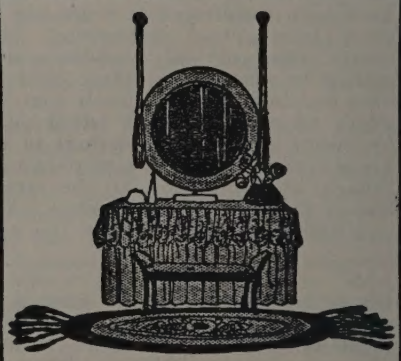
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